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A
L E T T E R

TO THE

AUTHOR of a LETTER

TO THE

Right Honourable GEORGE GRENVILLE.

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L E T T E R

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AUTHOR of a LETTER

TO THE

Right Hon. GEORGE GRENVILLE.^K

—*mutato nomine, de te*

Fabula narratur.



L O N D O N:

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper Mill, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

M.DCC.LXIII.

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MCCCXXXII

L E T T E R, &c.

S I R,

IF I thought that there was the least Probability, that the Right Honourable Person whose Name appears prefixed to your Letter, would condescend to give you a Reply to it, I should by no Means think of taking up the Pen to engage in your Correspondence; but as I hope his Time is much more usefully employed, than in taking Notice of *Anti-ministerial Squibs* on one Side, or of *Ministerial ones* on the other, I am tempted to give Way to the Indignation I feel, upon reading a *Performance as void of Truth, as it is full of impudent Malignity.*

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It

It was with the utmost Difficulty, I could persuade myself, Sir, that you could have meant to have applied the Motto you have chosen to the Person it is addressed to. *Quem maximè odisti, ei maximè obsequeris: aliud stans, aliud sedens de rep. sentis: his maledicis, illos odisti, levissimum transfuga: neque in hac, neque in illa parte, fidem habes.* The Idea this Motto conveys to me I will explain as follows: “ One who
 “ from his Infancy has made his Interest or Ambition,
 “ the sole Object of every Action of his Life:——
 “ Who has invariably quitted every Attachment he
 “ has ever formed, the Instant it had served his Pur-
 “ poses, and was grown Inconvenient to him:——
 “ Whose Friendship has always been the sure Fore-
 “ runner of his Hate:——Leagued at different Times
 “ with every Party and Description of Men, yet false
 “ to every Engagement, the very *Proteus* of the
 “ State, Whig, Tory, German, Briton; bound by
 “ his Engagements neither to his Friends, his Party,
 “ the Publick, or his K——:——Who with a Fortune
 “ peculiar to himself founds the Character of *Disin-*
 “ *terest-*

“ *terestedness* and *Consistency*, on the most *interested*
 “ and *inconsistent* Conduct, and at this Hour hopes to
 “ rise once more, by the Assistance of those very Per-
 “ sons who have so often appeared the Objects of his
 “ private Hatred, and publick Contempt.”

If this is not a literal Translation of your Motto, yet I will venture to say, that with the generality of People who may read it, Mr. *Grenville* will not be the Person that will present himself to their Minds. Permit me at least to observe it was a very unlucky Motto you made Choice of, and that you did make Choice of it can be accounted for only from a Consciousness and Fear, that the Application might be made with so much more Propriety with a different Address.

It is neither my Purpose or Inclination to follow you Step by Step, thro’ the whole of your very poor and illiberal Performance; I do not mean to give an Answer to it, but I shall content myself with making general and cursory Observations on it, which I am sure is as much as it deserves.

To

To begin then: I cannot help taking Notice that the principal Charge against Mr. *Grenville*, seems as if it would have been much more properly addressed to the *Secretaries of State*, since it is only by Supposition and Implication that he is made Accessory, and as you confess that Mr. *W.* himself has brought no Action or Complaint against him, I can see no Reason any other Person has to complain of him on that Account. It proves, at least, that in his Department you have not yet been able to find any Pretence of Blame, since in attacking him you are obliged to have Recourse to the Departments of others.

As however, from the intimate Connection of these three Ministers, it may not be unreasonably presumed, that such a Measure did not take Place without his Knowledge and Consent, let us examine a little into the Grounds of the Charge against him, and see whether it contains Matter of such heinous Nature. He would, I dare say, disdain to disavow the Advice he may have thought fit to give upon any Occasion, or to make use

of the Zeal of others in Actions *he is ashamed of*, and which he dares not take upon himself *to avow*.

It is not at all surprizing that the North-Briton under the Shadow of his noble Patron, should endeavour to make Mankind regard him as the Champion of their Liberties, and should hope that Party-Spirit might perhaps wash out the Stains upon his Character. What has he to lose in Times of publick Calamity and Confusion? Abject and contemptible in himself, he would have been known only within the Circle of his Follies and Debaucheries, had not times like these produced his more dangerous Vices to publick View. But do not, Sir, deceive yourself that the Bulk of Mankind are Dupes to the false Banners he hangs out. He knows, and you doubtless know, how much he is held in Abhorrence even by those who are the least suspected of Partiality to the present Ministers.

In Effect, what is the good North-Briton labouring with so much pious Zeal for the Benefit of his Country? — To destroy that Union of the Two Kingdoms

so mutually advantageous to both Nations, and so Essential to the Security of this Country — to revive Faction and the odious Distinctions of Party which have been so baneful to our Peace, and were lately with so much Difficulty conciliated — to depreciate in the Opinions of Mankind not only Ministers, but even Majesty itself, together with both Houses of Parliament, *the Constitutional Guardians of our Liberties* — by such means endeavouring to obstruct the Wheels of Government, and to prevent us from reaping the Benefit of that Peace, which He has used so much Artifice to render unpleasing to the People — under false Pretences raising groundless Suspicions in their Minds, sowing among them the Seeds of Jealousy and Dissention, animating them to a rebellious Resistance against just and fair Taxations which have received the Sanction of the Legislature, and then, thro' the Means of your Assistance, insulting the Distresses of his Country, and exclaiming in Triumph — “ *Where can you lay another Tax? I repeat it emphatically, Tell me where can you lay another Tax?*”

This,

This, Sir, is the Light in which he appears to every cool and dispassionate Man, to every true Well-wisher to his Country. What Punishment the Law will think fit to inflict on such a Delinquent, we must leave to the Law to determine; as it must be likewise in the Breast of Parliament alone to decide whether the Course of Justice shall be interrupted by *Privilege*. But neither the Law or the Parliament itself will ever be able to change so far the Nature of Things as to justify any part of his Conduct to the Publick, or to hand him down to Posterity in any other Character than that of the most indecent, daring Incendiary, the most determined Enemy to his Country.

Such is the Hero, Sir, whose Cause you have taken upon yourself to plead. This, my Countrymen, is the Glorious Defender of your Liberties. It is he in whose *Sacred Person* your most valuable Rights have been attacked and violated—Rise up in his Support, rescue him out of the Hands of Justice, declare those alone to be the Enemies of the Publick Peace who labour to preserve.

serve its Tranquillity ; and lavish from henceforward your choicest Honours and Applauses upon him who endeavours to throw every Thing into Anarchy and Confusion. This, Sir, is your kind Office— This is the Language it seems of an Independant Whig— But, Sir, without entering into a minute Detail of your Arguments how far *the King's Speech is the Speech of the King*, tho' adopted by him, and delivered from his own Mouth upon the Throne ; without explaining to you that the Distinctions you affect are *Parliamentary Distinctions*, which it is the Heighth of Presumption to make use of out of Parliament, and in passing bold Censures upon what Parliament has approved ; without quibbling upon Words, and examining how far an *infamous Fallacy* must necessarily imply a *Falsehood* ; I say, without entering into all these Discussions, I will appeal to the common Sense and feeling of my Countrymen, whether *that* can be called a *Government* which may be insulted with Impunity by every Individual ? Whether it is their Intention that those who stand forth in the Service of Government shall be the only Subjects exposed to all the Malignity

Malignity of Slander, and Abuse? and in short whether they conceive they have delegated to their Representatives a *Privilege* of undermining their Safety and sap-
 ping the very Foundation of the Publick Welfare? Far be it from me, Sir, to wish even in an instance as fla-
 grant as the present, that the Laws should be stretched to an *unprecedented Extent*. I am truly sensible how much more it concerns the Cause of Liberty to protect the Innocent, than even to chastise the guilty; but God forbid, we should have so mean an Opinion of our Consti-
 tution and Government, as to think it too weak for the common Functions of Justice. I appeal again to the Publick whether we have Reason at this Time to lament the loss of the Liberty of the Press; or rather whether the Licentiousness of the Press does not afford the strongest proof the present Ministers can give, of their unalter-
 able Resolution to preserve inviolate that Sacred Bul-
 wark of our Freedom? The Ministers were not rash or precipitate—but there are Bounds to every Thing as Mr. *W*—well knew: Limits beyond which Forbear-
 ance in Ministers would have become Criminal to the
 D, State

State and to the Crown. However unwillingly, they found themselves at last obliged to comply with and assist the apparent Inclinations of that Gentleman; not that they were blind to the Consequences he meant to draw from it with the People, but that they might acquit themselves of their Duty. They did it with the Dignity that became their Office, (however that Office has been since insulted) and every worthy Member of this Community ought to feel himself interested in their Success. Did they however strain the Laws upon this Occasion? or did they give to Justice its usual and established Course? Armed first with the Opinions of the Lawyers for the Crown, they proceeded according to the Strict Rules of Office without a Tittle of Innovation. The Warrants which they issued stand justified by Precedents under Ministers of all Denominations, as well the *Townshends* and *Walpoles* the Assertors of the Whig Cause in former Times, as the *P—s* and *N—s* the present Purity of Whigism, as appeared to all the World in a Multitude of Instances on a late Trial. Were these Warrants executed
with

too much Rigour? When a Man is charged with being a Sower of Sedition, can it be called a Hardship that he is debarred the means of diffusing its Influence? The Able and Impartial Lawyer, who presided in the Court where his Liberty was granted him, cannot be a Stranger to Proceedings of this Nature. In an Office he formerly held by the Crown, it has happened to him to prosecute upon the like Occasion under the same strange Warrant even to Fine, Imprisonment, and the Pillory:—I must add, under the Administration of those very Persons, who are understood to be so highly offended at this Exertion of Power. *Aliud stans, aliud sedens, de republica sentire*, is not, you see, without Examples, if you know only on which Side to look for them.

You will excuse me, Sir, I hope from meddling with the low Personal Reflections, and slighting Disrespect with which your Letter abounds. It is the old Practice, to endeavour to vilify, in the Opinion of the Publick, such respectable Characters as are not vulnerable in serious and essential Matters. However, as there are several

Hints

Hints scattered in different Places, and particularly one concerning *pleading on behalf of Mr. Amburst*, I cannot help calling upon you in the Name of the Publick, to explain what it is you hint at; and to know whether you can produce one single Instance when Mr. *Grenville* has in any Court of Judicature opened his Mouth to plead *in behalf of any Libeller*. Till then you must give me Leave to suppose that Assertion to be as false, as the whole History you have given relating to the Speaker's Chair is well known to be—in the whole—and its Parts, *an infamous Fallacy, and direct Falsehood*; as it would be very easy for the Right Honourable Person himself to prove, if he would deign to enter the Lists with such an Antagonist.

With regard to the Prophecies you seem to throw out, concerning the Duration of the present Ministry, and the many Things you choose to take for granted, it is easy to see the Purposes that such a Language may answer to your Party; but in that I flatter myself you are mistaken, as well as in so many other Things. I

will readily agree with you, from the Opinion I have conceived of the Virtue, Wisdom, and Integrity of Administration, that I do in my Conscience believe, they would be impatient to quit the high Stations, to which the K— has been pleased to call them, the Moment Circumstances appeared to them in the Light in which you have chose to represent them. But that these Circumstances are not so, Time will easily evince. It is not the Trumpet of Sedition, blown by the Breath of Party, that will frighten them from the Service of their K—— and Country, in which, I doubt not, they will receive the Assistance of a wise and grateful People. But, Sir, were the Minds of Men as much alienated as you represent, (I will not say as you believe)——were the Consequence to be the Resignations you expect, What is then to be the Event, and into what Hands is Government to fall? Is an Administration, such as you might point out, more likely to have *Permanency* and *Duration*? Are there any three Leaders of the Opposition, I had almost said any two of them, who think alike upon any Subject, and who have not at Times appeared openly in

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the most inveterate Enmity to each other? Are such jarring Particles likely to unite and form one solid Mass?—Does their present League offer to us any such Probability, when even their joint Interests can scarce maintain among them a *seeming Harmony*? But as all other Considerations are to give Way to the Interests of the Public, let me ask, Who are those, who if they could continue united, would at this dangerous Crisis have our Interests in their Hands? Are they not those very Men whose *rash Imprudence* and *vain glorious Profusion*, have drawn upon us that very Danger? We have been under the Operation of Medicines, which have been so violent, that they have reduced us to the last Gasp of languid Debility; Shall we apply to them again to finish our Destruction, and exhaust the little vital Strength, that still remains for our Recovery, and upon which all our Hopes are founded? The Prospect of our Situation is surely already too alarming not to unite all Parties who have the least feeling for their Country's Happiness: We are perhaps on the Brink of Ruin, though we seem regardless of our Danger. There

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is still a Possibility of Relief, unless we seal our Destruction, by recalling into Administration those very Persons who have already signalized themselves by their Violence, Arrogance, Ignorance, Temerity, and wanton Profusion.

- “ Oh! My poor Country, sick with civil Broils;
 “ If prudent Care can scarce with-hold thy Riots,
 “ What wilt thou do, when Riot is thy Care?

I am sensible, Sir, that by this Letter I have drawn upon myself the abusive Appellations with which your Party endeavour to brow-beat every Man, who dares to contradict Falsehood, and to state Truth on the Side of Government; but as I am aware of it before Hand, I give you Notice, that I shall not be provoked to a Reply, by being called the *venal Tool of Administration*, the *foolish Abettor of their Cause*, or *one of their Tools and Emissaries sent about to deceive*. I am neither *Whig*, nor *Tory*, nor *Scotchman*. I am not hired by any Minister, nor is my Pen dictated to by any one.

I have

I have no Intention to deceive, though I confess I have
 some Zeal to be the Means of undeceiving others. I
 speak the genuine Sentiments of my Heart, what I
 know or believe to be true; and though ranked under
 no Denomination of Faction, am not therefore the less
 sincere in subscribing myself

A TRUE ENGLISHMAN,



REAL WELL-WISHER to his COUNTRY.